

/284 cont. /

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is the large crown of throat feathers (krug'úga) which the leader /given in English/ wears in the ceremonial dances. The double difficulty of obtaining these feathers on one hand and the ritual of making them on the other explains why such accessories have a considerable value for the natives.

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Finally, infanticides enter the province of the chief; he suffocates the undesirable newborn babies by closing the nose and mouth with his hand.

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Although we were always sent to him for the acquisition of objects of collective use, Tuſawa rarely concluded the transaction on his own authority. Long conferences took place, where the clan chiefs and his friends and trustworthy men conferred. He had, in fact, the habit of surrounding himself with counselors who often filled no political office but who had great influence on him. Most often it was through their mediation—they had been made known to us very early—that we requested the necessary authorizations for pursuing our work from him. Several hours later Tuſawa would drop in, sit down beside us, remain silent, and then smile at us mysteriously and demand a gift. The agreement was made.

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Tuſawa communicated personally with his subjects even less than with us. He saw them little, having moved his house to the right bank of the river, where he lived alone with his two wives and where he had his cultivated plots. Except when his presence was necessary for ceremonies he only spent a couple of hours in the village. He would then go to the hut of the O Čera clan (8) /see Fig. 15. p. 6/, over which he seemed to have property rights, so that at least he had put it at our disposal, and we shared it with an old widow and the hostile household of a "bari." It was there—or even better in the men's house—that he met with the men he trusted and communicated his decisions to them.

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SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

(B. A. B. Bull. 143)

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Women wear a gray perineal band, or a black equivalent during menstruation; it is attached either to a girdle or to a tight-fitting bark corset.

Except for the exclusively masculine feather head ornaments, labrets, and nose ornaments (pla. 90, top; 94), the sexes use the same type of decoration. It is customary for men to manufacture necklaces and ear ornaments as a wedding gift for their brides.

Urucú provides red body paint and wards off insects, but on the São Lourenço River, it is used in moderation. The Bororo spread viscous rosin over their bodies, to which they then stick bird feathers, thus sometimes covering all of their arms. This is largely a curative measure against sores rather than a purely decorative device.

The men employ head ornaments to a considerable extent (pla. 92, left; 93). There are semicircular fans of arara feathers worn above the forehead; small fans of flexible feathers tied to the forehead so as partly to obscure the vision; and still other arrangements.

[184] Koslowsky (1895 b) ascribes to all his Western Bororo the practice of wearing amulets composed of the tooth of a wild canid or a feline species.

TRANSPORTATION

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Canoes were quite unknown in the west and in the São Lourenço River region, though on the Vermelho River they occur in recent times. Both sexes are adept at swimming. Men swam across rivers, holding aloft their bows, to which the arrows were tied horizontally, and simultaneously carried their game on their chests, fastened below their arms. Women swam with their burden-baskets full of nuts and roots, tying these receptacles in fours to wooden sticks and guiding them by ropes. On land they carried the baskets on their backs by a bast sling that merged into a tumpline in front.

MANUFACTURES

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The men work mainly in their club house. Spinning and plaiting.—In the family home, men merely pluck from the women's heads the hair subsequently to be made into cordage, and plait cotton bands for feminine arm, wrist, and ankle decorations. They spin both cotton and human hair on a shaft with a shell or clay disk $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches (3.8 to 5 cm.) in diameter for a whorl. Holding the flock of cotton or several hairs with the left hand attached to the uppermost quarter of the spindle, i. e., the part above the whorl, they roll the longer section of the shaft on the right thigh. The thread thus formed above the whorl is ultimately wrapped around the long section of the shaft. Palm fiber is twisted on the thigh by hand. Often the big toe helps in making thread. Hair threads are plaited into cords worn round the hair of the head or body, but also into wrist-guards. True weaving does not occur (fig. 51, a, b).

4: Levak

SP8 Bororo SP8

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[For information on the ceremonial exchange of gifts between yorubodare (an alliance between two men of opposite moieties, established by the exchange of ceremonial gifts, and from which group a man should choose a wife), see category 571.]

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837 ily and the normal economic routine would be disrupted by
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602 internal conflict resulting from such a love affair.

587 There is no obligatory sororate among the Bororo, though
606 the sororate is more frequent than the levirate. When the family of a deceased woman likes her husband very much, they try to keep him by offering to him in marriage the younger sister of the deceased. The girl's mother then goes to see his parents, taking as gifts some dishes she has made for the occasion. She explains that her family wants to keep him

585 in the house. The new wife also prepares some dishes and cigars that her husband will take into the men's house and offer to his brothers. This is not a special procedure, but
• (43) the usual one after any marriage. The small retribution in food and cigars is given by the husband to the men from his moiety to compensate them for the loss of an available sexual partner.

582 As a conclusion to this discussion of Bororo marriage,
573 there are few things that I would like to point out. The formula that the Bororo sometimes use (see page 82) when a girl is given in marriage shows that the Bororo conceive the ideal husband-wife relationship on the model of the parent-child and cross-sibling relationships. This balance between cross-sibling and spouse solidarities is further attested by
591 the Bororo residential pattern. Uxorilocal residence requires a man to leave his natal house and make his economic contribution to his wife's lineage. However, the multiclan, multivillage arrangement of settlements does not require that

553 Then he raises the child high and says the name of the father (the child's mother's husband), that of the mother, and the names chosen for the child. The ceremony is concluded with more songs. The namegiver is required to make ornaments for the child as compensation (mori) for piercing his lip. While all ornaments are prepared, the child's father must send gifts in food and tobacco to the namegiver.

607 Here, too, we see both families involved in the ceremony—the father's brothers in adorning the child and in holding him at the crucial point and the mother's brothers in actually performing the ceremony. The names of both mother and father are announced to the community. Also significant is the appeal to Bakororo to attend the ceremony and his representation in the course of it. Bakororo, who established the cultural and social order of the Bororo and who invented many ornaments and started many customs, must be present at the moment when a child becomes a member of the society.

593 In the Bororo view the naming ceremony establishes an equivalence between child and namegiver similar to that existing between mother and child. The Bororo are unshakeable in affirming that the two relationships are completely parallel. The women state, "My child is a small me" (itonaregedu, imi rogu rugadu). And my informant, speaking about a man and his namegiver, said, "He [the namereceiver] is he [the namegiver] himself" (ema nure ema rugadu). They both are the same." It is difficult at first to grasp the logic of

881 ments, and for the first time he will see Aije, the spirits
[301] representing mythical animals who will maltreat him (the
[302] Bororo designate as Aije the bull-roarers and the men who
[77] whirl them). After the ceremony the boy will leave his ma-
ternal home and move into the men's house, or at least sleep
there.

[593] It is the duty of the boy's father to prepare the penis
sheaths. He gives them to the boy's older brother, who in
[532] turn gives them to the initiator. The initiator then di-
[291] vides them among his own brothers, who paint them with dif-
ferent red motifs, some geometrical and some in shapes of
animals, in the hope that the boy will become a good hunter.

[301] After the imposition of the penis sheath, the initiator
makes ornaments for the boy. Simpler ones are made by his

[431] brothers. The boy's mother and the initiator's wife occa-
sionally exchange food. The initiator takes the food he re-
ceives into the men's house and shares it with his (the

[302] initiator's) brothers. Before the ceremony it is the duty
of the initiator's sisters to remove from the boy's face all
hair, including eyelashes and eyebrows. We see that all
these tasks are not restricted to the initiator but extended
to his lineage: the boy acquires a special relationship not
only with one man, but with the whole lineage. This fact is

881 reflected in the change of terms of address. After the im-
*601 position of the ba the boy will not address the members of
his initiator's lineage as "fathers" and "grandmothers," as
he did before, but as Iyorubodare. And since this term is

/135 cont./

573 added room, and the woman, and thus the maternal family.
591 remains the owner of this contiguous part of the building.

Karl von den Steinen observes in this respect (o.c., p. 501):

"The young wife remains with the children in the parents'
[512] house. The young husband only spends the night in this house
[354] and during the day lives in the men's house. If he is not
[603] hunting. The young couple has a fire for themselves, the
[855] grandmother sits a little apart with the grandchildren. It
continues thus until the grandparents' death. The grandmother
nurses, when the young wife goes hunting with the husband or
when she is looking for palm nuts in the forest: 'they always
still have milk, when the daughters marry.'"

836 Other characteristics of the so-called maternal family are
evident from the following indications of the same explorer

• 431 /136/ (o.c., p. 502): "The women of the quarters (the girls
[411] in the men's house) received from their lovers arrows with long
bamboo points. Each one handed over two, and the young
woman took them, having squatted, with an indifferent

expression. When I was present once, I counted 18 such love
[602] arrows for one girl. They are handed to the brother or to the
[421] mother's brother." The destiny of these arrows gives, then,
an idea of the property relationships within the maternal
family.

224 Also interesting in this respect is the custom according to
602 which, an ounce having been killed, the skin is handed over
"to the brother of the woman recently passed away or to the
uncle of the man recently passed away" (von den Steinen,
ibidem). It is supposed that this uncle is a brother of the
mother.

593 Finally, one of the most important signs of the maternal
114 family: "It was always as a natural protector of the woman that
her brother presented himself to us" (von den Steinen, ibidem).

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hole pierced in both ear lobes, so that the individual wears a pair of these earrings. The one represented in Figure 1, which has a tooth above and one below, is peculiar to the clan of the Aroia; it was worn by Mario Bokodori Kudde, pictured in Plate 21, even though this man does not belong to said clan. /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ But he had killed an ounce and had given the cadaver to the Aroia, delivering with this, a recently deceased member of that clan from being incarnated in this beast. He then received, as it is the custom in such a case, gifts of honor from the Aroia, especially the bow splendidly decorated with plumes, and permission to make and to wear "without fear and shame" all the ornaments with which their clan distinguishes itself from the others. One can obtain this permission from any clan as soon as a dead ounce is handed over to it, delivering in this way one of their dead from incarnation in this feline. I still wish to observe that the wife of Mario Bokodori Kudde (Plates 19 and 20) was an Aroia and, therefore, owned earrings like those which the husband wore. The same man told me that in the past these earrings were worn the opposite way, that is with the points turned upward.

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None of the fish may be eaten, however, until ritually treated by the shaman, or medicine man. First, he induces a seizure of trembling, during which he is thought to be possessed by *Bope*, a powerful—and sometimes evil—spirit often invoked by the Bororo to help them locate game and fish. Shaking with the power of his spirit helper, the shaman bites into each piece of fish, thus driving out evil spirits and symbolically consecrating the fish to *Bope* in return for his help in catching it. When this act is completed, the shaman passes the fish to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can other members of the society partake of it.

THE Bororo believe that deaths are also caused by *Bope*. He is identified, in their minds, with the jaguar, and when a death occurs, the Bororo take revenge for their loss by killing a jaguar. This, too, is surrounded with ritual. A few days after a death, the shaman determines where a jaguar can be found by consulting the corpse in its grave. After the corpse has communicated the location of a jaguar, the shaman tells the relatives of the deceased, who then request an outstanding hunter of the opposite moiety to undertake the task of finding and killing the jaguar. To help him in the venture, the bereaved family gives the hunter two presents. The first is a gourd whistle, the sound of which represents the voice of the dead man's soul. The second is a braided cord,

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[p. 42-B]

made from the mourners' hair, which the hunter wraps around his left wrist to prevent it from being injured by the snap of the bowstring.

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EVEN though the shaman has "learned" the location of a jaguar from the spirit of the deceased, several days may pass before the hunter succeeds in finding one. The ensuing struggle between hunter and hunted is a feat of great daring and skill. As soon as a jaguar comes within shooting range, the hunter releases an arrow. He then immediately lifts his bow into a horizontal position and extends it toward the jaguar, pointing the far tip directly at the beast to parry its attack (a single arrow is seldom lethal). This maneuver must be accomplished with great speed before the jaguar pounces. Enraged by pain, the jaguar leaps at the end of the bow, clawing and biting it. Eye to eye the two struggle, the hunter warding off the beast with his bow held rigidly in both hands. When the jaguar recoils to pounce, the hunter quickly looses a second arrow and again raises the bow to protect himself. When the jaguar finally falls to the ground, weakened by the wounds, a last arrow is shot to end the struggle. If the hunter does not deliver this coup de grâce, he may lose the contest, for the jaguar may still have enough strength to attack when the hunter least expects it.

With the help of a companion, the hunter carries the dead jaguar

[p. 42-D]

[text continues on p. 44-B]

Brazil.

each day during the weeks that we remained in their vicinity, 123
 and stayed by us faithfully until dark; and though coming 152
 and going continually, we had always a full house. If I
 opened a trunk, they were on the alert to peer into it, and to
 handle whatever struck their fancy. When we ate, every
 mouthful of food we took and our manner of eating; or if
 we wrote, or conversed, or photographed, or made our toilet,
 our every act was observed with the closest attention and com-
 mented upon in muttering tones by the horde of naked sav-
 ages that encircled us, of which the women and children
 formed the outer ring.

They sat or lounged upon our boxes, benches and tables, 517
 or what served as a table, leaned against the stake walls of 123
 our hut, sat cross-legged on dry ox-hides on the ground, or 516
 upon flat stones or slabs of wood, or squatted around our
 pot of food as it boiled at the camp-fire, eyeing it hungrily,
 always leaving a patch of red grease on anything they sat
 upon or reclined against. A few dozed occasionally; some 296
 smoked when they could get a bit of tobacco; others roasted 252
 hunks of beef at our fire, or lazily picked off and ate the 262
 kernels from a roasted ear of corn; several nibbled pieces 857
 of the heart of a dwarf palm; while others, the boys, slowly
 devoured bits of fish that had been roasted black, peeling
 back the skin and scales as they ate; or amused themselves
 shooting with rude bows and arrows at a stump just outside
 our hut. The men gossiped a little among themselves in 521
 guttural sounds, looking vacantly into space as expressionless 122
 as a professional gambler, and never once glancing toward
 the one addressed; or else asked us a few questions in the
 limited language that we knew in common. They would
 sit for hours at a time in every conceivable position and dis- 516
 tortion of the body, uttering scarcely a word.

They are very fond of tobacco, and resorted to various 123
 tricks to obtain a small piece. Whenever they did any work 296
 for us, or made a trade, they invariably demanded a piece of
 tobacco from my companion in part payment. Besides trad- 437
 ing, they availed themselves of numerous expedients to obtain

Brazil.

123 articles from us without offering us anything in exchange.
 431 One would say, "*Bororó*, headache—handkerchief, red"—
 Meaning, my head aches; give me a red handkerchief to tie
 around it. Or, "*Boé* sick—tobacco,"—I am sick. Give me a
 piece of tobacco to make me well. Or, again, "*Boé* pursue
 tapir—catch him not. Give tobacco." At other times, they
 sought to obtain things on credit, saying, "*Bororó*, bring"—
 I will bring you something. But they usually forgot "to
 bring." Sometimes they tried a little flattery. One day a
 chief man came to me saying: "Captain"—myself—"good—
 Captain very good. *Bororó* cry when Captain go away.
Bororó ask Captain not go." But this was largely to pave the
 way to ask for something. When I had to refuse them and
 they seemed displeased, I said to them: "*Bororó*, good;
Bororó, very good. Captain, bad—very bad." They always
 hastened to say in reply to this, "No, no; Captain, good—
 very good."

157 When fish became scarce and a hunting expedition had
 26 not resulted successfully, and they were, consequently, with-
 433 out food, they came to us acting as if they longed to become
 123 our slaves forever. After much self-abnegation, they would
 say, timidly, "*Boé tapira*,"—I like beef. *Tapira* is their word
 for cattle, cow, bullock or beef. But when they made a good
 haul of fish, their demeanor underwent an entire change,
 and seeming unable to recognize any one, they hastened to
 their huts without looking to the right or to the left. If
 spoken to, they feigned deafness. They do not wish many
 friends at such times as this as they would have to divide
 their catch with them. This is much like the civilized man,
 who, having acquired a fortune, is unable, longer, to recog-
 nize his less favored friends and relatives.

764 A death occurred in the village the day after our arrival,
 and as custom among these people forbids that any member
 of the family of the deceased should leave the village to fish,
 hunt, or to forage, until all the obsequies, which continue many
 days, are over, they must trust to the generosity of their
 123 neighbors for food. Consequently, the father of the bereaved

/502 cont. /

836 contentedly. She lay beside her preferred man, entirely at ease
548 under the red coverlet, and both were cracking palm nuts. One
day we saw Moguyokuri goading the young men to adorn Maria,
who was so wild in the wrestling bout and now so humble. Six
of them immediately pounced on her and painted her.

The ranchão women were given arrows with long bamboo
points by their lovers. Each one presented two, which the girl
accepted, squatting, with an indifferent expression. Once when
I was present, I counted 18 such love arrows for one girl. They
[602] are delivered to the brother or to the brother of the mother.

[851] The ranchão girls no longer marry an individual; if there are
children, all the men of the ranchão with whom she has had inter-
course are regarded as the fathers. These are entirely regulated
[561] conditions which result from the superior power of the older ones;
[437] they possess and receive from the girls who are handed over to
the men's house, and on whose account they may reach an
agreement, a regular income of arrows or ornaments, such as,
for example, the suspender strings, which are also considered
838 payment. Pederasty is said to be not unknown in the men's house,
but to occur only if the shortage of ranchão girls is unusually great.

224 We have already seen how well regulated property conditions
are by the circumstance that the hunting booty does not remain
768 in the hands of the one who captured it. It is a great loss for
the family when a member dies. For everything that was used
by the deceased is burned, thrown into the river, or packed into
the bone-basket, so that he will under no circumstance have oc-
casion to come back. The hut is then completely cleared out.

[431] The survivors, however, are presented with new things; bows
[825] and arrows are made for them, and custom has it that when a
[602] jaguar is killed the skin is given "to the brother of the woman
who has most recently died or to the uncle of the man who has
593 most recently died." The brother of a woman was always
pointed out to us as her chosen protector. Arrows are the most
436 important object of value; they are given to the brother /503/
of the ranchão girl or to the jaguar killer; they are the equivalent
of tobacco and cotton in barter.

- 787 The Umotina do not appear to have shamana.
 756 Every man is believed able to call up any friendly
 [534] ghost. He blows on an armadillo-shell horn and
 offers the ghost chicha. That night the man
 will meet the ghost in his dreams, who will then
 tell him what to do in order to cure himself or a
 sick relative.

LIFE CYCLE

- 843 A month or two before expecting a child a
 846 woman eats only manioc products, maize, and
 honey; meat and fish being strictly avoided.
 These dietary restrictions continue for some
 months after the birth of the child. The husband,
 however, is free to eat what he wishes.

- 844 When a woman feels birth pains she goes into
 the woods accompanied by her mother or mother-
 in-law. Delivery is made in a kneeling position.
 The umbilical cord is tied with tucum twine and
 cut with a bamboo aliver, the placenta being
 buried. The midwife then carries the child and
 assists the mother back to the village. The
 child is taken near a fire, washed, and its arms and
 [845] legs are "pressed into human shape." Twins are
 accepted. When the child is a day or two old,
 [304] tucum nut washers are put on its ear lobes to
 pierce them. These thin perforated disks are the
 same in appearance as those used by the Nambi-
 [553] cuara. The grandparents then give the child a
 854 name. The child is carried on its mother's hip
 and is nursed for 2 or 3 years or until another
 [847] child is born. The Umotina gave no information
 about using herbal medicines to induce abortion,
 nor did they mention anything about infanticide.
 [862] The first foods a child eats consist of baked sweet-
 potatoes, broiled fish, and occasionally meat.
 [855] Children sleep with their mothers until about 5 or
 6 years of age.

- 881 When a girl reaches the age of puberty she paints
 herself with urucú and puts on a pair of feather
 [301] ear pendants to let the young men know that she
 302 has come of age. She is not secluded by her
 parents nor is a public ceremony held. When
 [304] a boy reaches the age of 15 or 16, an old male
 relative pierces his lower lip with a bone awl.
 The family then invites the villagers to a feast.
 [431] The visitors must bring arrows, which they present
 to the young man.

[P. 110(1)]